

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No. 9.

CHICAGO, APRIL 25, 1908.

50c. a Year.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL

The most typical A. F. of L. body in this city is the Building Trades Council. Though not for years officially a part of the A. F. of L., it has always lived up to the A. F. of L. "ideals." But now that the labor fakirs have organized a "National Building Trades International," the S. F. B. T. C. is a part of the A. F. of L. The B. T. C. is the central body of all the craft unions that are employed in the construction of buildings.

P. H. McCarthy, carpenter, member of Local No. 22, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and also member of the General Executive Board of the said International, is the local president of the B. T. C., and has been so for some years. The acts of the B. T. C. can best be understood by the moves of its officers, for the organization, as has been proven on different occasions, does not live because of any principles, but is due to the machine that has been built.

P. H. McCarthy is a combination between Sam Parks and Sam Gompers. When it comes to dealing with opposition he acts the Sam Parks. At the banquets of the California Promotion Committee—a miniature Civic Federation—he acts the part of Sam Gompers. He is a fair example of the trade union leader, insofar as ideals are concerned; he knows as much about the labor question as a barroom bruiser. One thing he does not lack, that is nerve. He has committed without shame the most treacherous and cowardly act that he has his enemies lick his hand after thrashing them.

It is said that Farley, Parry, Elliott, et al., are union wreckers. P. H. McCarthy refers to Herbert George, the president of the Citizens' Alliance, as "a union buster;" but if it came to giving medals to union wreckers, P. H. would get the first prize.

Elliott said, "union men are scabs." P. H. has said that union men are scabs. In a circular issued during the last campaign and signed by W. H. Hutchins, who is the treasurer of Local No. 1082, Brotherhood of Carpenters, among a list of questions asked is this one: "Why did you, as president of the Building Trades Council, during the strike of the Cooks and Waiters in 1901, expell the Paper-hangers' Union from the B. T. C. because they were three of their members for eating in a scab restaurant?"

In 1904, because the Painters No. 19 elected officers with radical notions, the charter was revoked, a new local was organized, the book stolen by the McCarthy followers, and all those that insisted that McCarthy was wrong were fined all the way from \$20 to \$1,000 for insubordination.

During the Teamsters' strike of 1901 P. H. acting as Civil Service Commissioner under Mayor Jas. D. Phelan, used policemen's clubs on the heads of the strikers, and for which he acquired the sobriquet "Jimmy the Rag." P. H. never uttered a protest.

He helped to win the Teamsters' strike of 1901 by the organization of the scab union of Sand and Building Material Drivers' Union, No. 216, and then added insult to injury by boasting for Mayor in the election of 1901 James Tobin, a member of the political family of "Jimmy the Rag" and president of the Hibernia Bank.

During the strike of the Cooks and Waiters, P. H. helped them by referring to them as the "potato peelers and bums."

Again to quote the circular mentioned above:

"6. McCarthy is for or against the short work-day, according as he has or has not some purpose of his own to accomplish. To illustrate: When the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers went on strike in 1901, for an eight-hour day, he stood against them and with their employers, for a continuation of the ten-hour day. The principal employer was Frank J. Symmes, of the Thomas Day Company.

"7. McCarthy is for or against the day-of-rest principle, according as he has or has not some purpose of his own to accomplish. To illustrate: When the Cooks and Waiters, Local 30, went on strike in 1901, for a day of rest in seven, he stood against them. By bracing the New York restaurant to decline the proposals of the strikers, he prevented the men from getting a "fair" restaurant in Market street at a crucial time, and thus did them an irreparable harm.

"8. When 15,000 union men were engaged in the great strike of 1901 to break the lockout of union teamsters by the Drymen's Association acting under coercion of the Employers' Association, and when the strikers were in desperate need of funds, McCarthy gave them the cold shoulder. He wrote a signed letter to the daily press in which he sought to turn the union men on strike; and he encouraged "scab" sand-teamsters in their work of trying to break the strike. In that great conflict, the most terrible battle the unions have ever had, he was a source of aid and comfort to the employers seeking to destroy the unions.

"9. In 1904 McCarthy stood against the Saturday half-holiday for the members of Painters' Union No. 19, and sent men about to take their places when

Russia, who do not understand our great American craft union. They made short work of Gapon, who told them he had learned trade unionism in England and America.

In America and especially in Frisco they elect their misleaders to the office of sheriff, as in the case of O'Neil, who acted as a soldier against the A. R. U. strikers. The crowning infamy of the most consummate labor fakir in California is yet untold.

To hear the king-pins of the B. T. C. talk you could believe that the organization has some mission outside of mutual scabbing; but they are idle claims. In the summer of 1906 the existing and Portable Engineers had to go out on strike as individuals in order to avoid the "big stick" of P. H. Is it not a fine union to save your card you must strike as an individual? Of what utility is such a union to the workers?

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was represented in the B. T. C. through its Local No. 6 (inside wiremen). On Dec. 15, 1906, Local No. 6 presented to the masters a demand for a \$6 wage scale, to take effect Jan. 1, 1907. On January 1st the bosses had a meeting, when 75 per cent submitted to the \$6; but the 25 per cent took their grievance to the B. T. C., and of course were told to wait until the next meeting, and grant that the constitution has been violated; we will see that you are supplied with \$5 a day men." No. 6 refusing to rescind its action, was suspended from the B. T. C. as scabs. Now the fight begins. The rules of the B. T. C. provide that no member shall work with anyone who does not hold a card of the B. T. C. So when the members of No. 6 went to work on a job for \$6 the walking delegate would notify the union carpenters, etc., that there were men on the job with no B. T. C. card—and tell them, "Well, you know what the constitution says." Then go to the boss, "Well, you are hiring scabs here and breaking the contract." "Well," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded. "The contract," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded. "The contract," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded.

Resolutions sometimes look well on paper, but when the Plumber saw their opportunity to get more wages they asked for \$6 instead of \$5 (this was in June of 1906). The Master Plumber immediately yielded. "The contract," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded. "The contract," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded.

Local No. 6 tried to stir up the different locals of the B. T. C., but all to no avail; for while the sentiment of the rank and file was in favor of No. 6, the local No. 6 were the only ones who stopped all revolutions that broke out. Finally a new union was organized, composed of the scabs and known as Electrical Mechanical Union, No. 1. The new union was organized to fight P. H., but all to no purpose; they were beaten unmercifully. Because they dared to ask for more wages from the bosses they were called scabs and union wreckers. Notwithstanding the thousands of dollars No. 6 used—and that they had the International organization back of them—they lost in the fight; not only lost the fight, but insult was added to injury.

Through the connivance of McNulty, the Grand President of the Electrical Workers, who realized that No. 6 only had a couple of hundred members left, while formerly they had some 700, and now there is rule of no more scabs, one way to get per capita tax and that was by taking the scabs into the International. The "big stick" of McCarthy and the ambitions of McNulty combined when on Friday, March 13th, No. 6 and No. 6 were the only ones who stopped all revolutions that broke out. Finally a new union was organized, composed of the scabs and known as Electrical Mechanical Union, No. 1. The new union was organized to fight P. H., but all to no purpose; they were beaten unmercifully. Because they dared to ask for more wages from the bosses they were called scabs and union wreckers. Notwithstanding the thousands of dollars No. 6 used—and that they had the International organization back of them—they lost in the fight; not only lost the fight, but insult was added to injury.

Notwithstanding all the crimes this arch labor fakir has perpetrated against the workers, and even imploring the striking carmen to "go back to work and stop your child's play," thousands of wage slaves adore him and voted for him for Mayor of San Francisco, although not enough to elect him. The slaves have taken the song to heart, "Work, morn, noon and night to build dear old Frisco." P. H. yelled "On the unions of the old we must work faithfully and build a greater city, the Queen of the Pacific." The slaves worked hard; they followed the advice of P. H. McCarthy and Turetime; they scabbed on the street carmen and the sailors, and now there is rule of no more scabs, no more empty; no more stores, plenty of them with signs, "To let." Now we see them, "Free Labor American citizens" (they have the caps), lined up in front of the St. Boniface church waiting for hot water called soup and bread that takes a sledge hammer to break.

Ah, I hear you say, how could the building tradesmen scab on the sailors? I know that the average pure and simple is unable to understand how one union can scab on another. But I will tell you. The Sailors' Union went out on strike in the month of May, 1906, for \$5 more a month. Scabs took Local No. 120 of Worcester, Mass., and the sailors were recently printed and entitled "The New Dialectics."

union made lumber and steamed back into San Francisco. The union lumber longshoremen affiliated with the B. T. C. unloaded the scab lumber off the boat manned by scab sailors; the Material Teamsters' Union, No. 216, also chartered by the B. T. C., loaded his wagon, drove to the planing mills; the members of the union hall's union affiliated with the B. T. C. run the lumber through the planer; then, lo and behold, a stamp was placed on the lumber: "Union made lumber"—then off to the building under construction. Some of the union halls were four with this kind of lumber. Now, what is that but scabbery with the union label? What do you call it, Mr. Simplex?

McCarthy, president of the B. T. C. of San Francisco, president of the B. T. C. of California, General Executive Board member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and member of the biggest carpenters' local in San Francisco, Local 22, you, with all your bluff, please answer a few questions, and if you are not able, turn them over to your secretary, Mr. Twitnecm; probably he can reply:

Did you not do all you could to break up the car men's union?

Did you not allow the men of the B. T. C. to scab on the street car men?

Did you not allow the union carpenters to erect stages for the union carriers to carry brick and mortar to the union bricklayers who constructed the wall of the Turk street car barn, while the street car men were out on strike, and the Farleyites were housed in the car barns?

Did you not allow the union carpenters to erect sleeping quarters for the scabs?

Did you not allow No. 216 to drive scab linemen about?

Why did the carpenters assess themselves \$1 a week for the car men's strike fund and then remain at work for the United Railroad Company?

You stated at an open meeting that after the car men's strike you would go to debate with the I. W. W.

Why did you not keep your word?

You may crawl out, as you generally do, but nevertheless the facts stand out boldly, and notwithstanding your union card and your different official positions, you are the most debased and consummate scab in California. You may proudly take the belt as the champion union wrecker in California.

In Los Angeles there is a reptile running a paper that you denounce as a scab paper. Right so, but he is as open foe to labor. You, on the other hand, in the name of "the constitution" and "sacred contracts" have disrupted more unions than General Otis or Farley.

Dare you deny these charges on the platform before a body of workmen? If you are willing, the I. W. W. is ready at any time.

Little concern is it to the B. T. C. that hundreds of slaves have lost their little savings by the closing of the Market Street Bank. The official organ of the B. T. C., "Organized Labor," advises editorially to be cool and all will be O. K.; that the bank is all right, and before progress can be made these corrupt institutions like the B. T. C. must be cleared out of the path of labor. Before progress can be made the labor fakirs like McCarthy must bite the dust.

A group of determined men in this city have started on the right road. Weak in numbers, but strong because of the principles upon which they have organized, "The organization that is bona fide is Building Constructors' Industrial Union No. 501."

May success crown its efforts. Workers, everywhere, do your duty; rally to the colors of the Industrial Workers of the World!

JOSEPH J. ETOR.

San Francisco, April 10, 1908.

Dunfermline Meeting.

The following is a list of contributions made for the expenses of the meeting at Dunfermline held by Vincent St. John and received by him:

Joseph Spargo	25
Frank Fink	25
William Hillery	25
Thos. Ballantyne	50
Ellis Stemplin	25
David Baker	50
G. H. Smith	25
Harley Cape	25
Steve Shubert	25
Burt Siders	25
William Tollitt	25
Joseph Dognosno	25
Nelson Lingenfelter	25
Gilbert Ballantyne	50
William N. Spargo	50
C. Dawlar	25
Harry Hawkins	25
Ernest Tomkins	25
John Findlay	25
D. O. Williams	50
A. Graham	25
Frank Lintry	25
Edin M. Gaw	50
Sam Saroshian	50

The general headquarters is now able to supply new and especially useful leaflets on the forms and principles of the I. W. W. in Slavonian-Croatian, the price of which, prepaid, is \$4.50 a thousand.

Local 92, of Portland, Oregon, writes to inform headquarters that it endorsed the resolution adopted by Local 120 of Worcester, Mass., on the satire we recently printed and entitled "The New Dialectics."

WILLIAMS REPLIES TO CRITICS

And Shows Fallacies of the Croakers of "Velled Dynamitism"

Editor Industrial Union Bulletin:

The several "critics," both within and outside the columns of The Bulletin, at the central position taken by me in my New York address on "Industrial Unionism and Politics," have all "missed the mark." Not only have they all "missed the mark," but several of them, including the editor of the People, have also given marvelous exhibitions of what the editor of The Bulletin justly calls "perverted controversy."

My purpose in replying is not merely to try to settle the dust of confusion which those "critics" with impure motives have purposely raised in clouds. The development of events in the American labor movement in time will cause the dust to settle, and woe unto those who then will stand revealed in their true colors.

Neither am I at all disturbed by such phrases as "velled dynamitism," "pompous nonsense," "Haytianism," "sublimated duplicity," "anarchistic language," etc., which the editor of the People has so plentifully coined and applied to my position in accordance with his own purposes. Such phrases are no doubt useful in the process of "kicking up dust." They may help for the time being to conceal the baser motives of "scheming intellectuals" like DeLeon, against whose autocratic and jesuitical methods in the I. W. W. Williams, among others, has taken a decided stand. But aside from that they are but evidences of what DeLeon himself calls "mental bankruptcy." I am not yet prepared to descend to that level of civilized discussion. On the contrary, I prefer to continue my appeal, as in the New York address, to that sincere proletarian element in the S. L. P., and in the labor movement generally, in whose integrity I have the utmost confidence.

The Socialist Labor party has furnished some of the best and also some of the worst recruits to the I. W. W. It is the attempt to "make the worse appear the better" that I object to, and have objected to, not within the "last three months" only, but all the time during the three years or more that I have been active in the movement. While an organizer for the S. L. P. two years ago I combated in Los Angeles and elsewhere the sectarian spirit exhibited by some of the S. L. P. comrades. I opposed their attitude of looking upon the I. W. W. as a "child of the S. L. P.," and their guile and close simulating of the I. W. W. to keep it from straying from the "straight and narrow path." I avoided that attitude in my propaganda everywhere—in Arizona among the miners, in California and Oregon among lumber workers, and elsewhere. Experience taught me that only by a clear-cut I. W. W. propaganda, recognizing and addressing to the non-affiliation clause in its preamble, could the forces of Industrial Unionism be recruited and the economic organization be placed on a footing whereby it might reflect the true political movement of labor. Holding the same view and adding the same tactical attitude regarding the I. W. W. I have found many members of the S. L. P., and it is to these I refer above as constituting "some of the best recruits to the I. W. W."

As to those others (and they are quite numerous in the S. L. P.) purely I. W. W. must attend to the task of placing them where they may do no further harm to the labor movement. This can be done only by asserting and maintaining the I. W. W. position that "only the economic organization can reflect the true political movement of labor."

Several of my opponents, among them Fellow Worker Arnold of Louisville (whose sincerity I do not doubt), take exception to my suggestion that the "true political reflex of the economic movement" may not include a "political party in the ordinary sense." But while adhering to the position taken in my printed address, I am not so much concerned with that particular phase of the question, which at best is a speculative problem at the present time.

However, it must be borne in mind that "political action"—the means to the end of acquiring for the working class "political power" (which Karl Marx defines as "the simple official form of the class" antagonism in civil society)—is not summed up in "political party" in the ordinary sense, contesting with the capitalist the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial.

On the contrary, every movement in which the working class meets the ruling classes as a class and seeks to overcome them by pressure from without, is a political movement. For instance, the attempt to force from individual capitalists a reduction of the labor time in a factory, is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement. And in this way a political movement grows everywhere out of the various economic movements of the working class—that is, a movement of the class to enforce its demands in some general form, in some form which has a general social power. (Karl Marx. Extract from a letter written in London, November 23, 1871, and addressed to his friend Bolte, a member of the Central Committee of the "International" in the United States.)

Marx further declares in the same letter that "the political movement of the working class has for its natural and ultimate aim the conquest of the political power for it, and this requires, of course, that a previous organization of the working class, arising out of its economic struggles, should have reached a certain degree of maturity."

Resolution IX, passed by the General Council of the International, of which Marx was a member, declares that "the political activity of the working class is necessary, and that this political activity is inseparable from its economic movement."

Again: "The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society, an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society. In the new society, the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle between class and class, and 'the struggle between class and class is a political struggle.' (Karl Marx, Poverty of Philosophy) (1847, pages 158-9.)

Nowhere in the foregoing quotations, or in the sources from which they are derived, does Marx contend that political action is synonymous with "a political party in the ordinary sense" contesting with the capitalists the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial. On the contrary, the plain inference from the above quotations is that all means to the end of acquiring political power for the working class are political power, that power which succeeds in arraying the workers consciously as a class against their masters as a class—all such means are legitimate political action. Resort to the ballot box and all that precedes it in political party campaigns, by no means all there is to political action. Some of the specific means to the end of acquiring political power for the working class—means designed to awaken class consciousness among workers and to enable the revolutionary purpose of the labor movement to express itself in "some general form, a form which shall have a general social power"—were indicated to me in my New York lecture. My reasons for not including a political party were also given therein, but not in a dogmatic or official way, but merely as a suggestion. It is the course the labor movement might take. None of my opponents, in the same spirit, have attempted an analysis of the arguments I advanced along that line, but have for the most part simply indulged in dogmatic assertions or phrases that may furnish convenient "warriors" for "blind followers of the blind," but otherwise result in confusion.

Most of those who have thus rushed recklessly into this discussion betray their kinship in certain respects to the "pure and simple political socialist." They have not yet got entirely beyond the conception that "a political party, the revolutionary act of supporting one political state, court by legislation or otherwise, usher in the co-operative commonwealth." The I. W. W. in its preamble rejects that conception and declares, by implication, that the working class could not if it would use the conquered machinery of the capitalist political state to "legislate" or otherwise assist in bringing into existence the co-operative commonwealth. On the contrary, the bringing into existence of the co-operative commonwealth must be the exclusive work of the industrial organization of the working class. It is not an act of "legislation." It is rather the revolutionary act of supporting one form of government by another. It is the act of supplanting the capitalist political government by the purely industrial government of future society. Thus the logical evolutionary process of the labor movement would be the crowding out of existence, by the economic organization, of the obsolete political forms of capitalism. In other words, the economic organization, aided by its political movement having built up within the shell of capitalism the structural form of the future society, will, by its revolutionary act, burst that shell, cast off the slough of capitalist political forms, and bring forth the new society arrayed in the garb of industrial democracy. Both the proclamation of the revolutionary purpose and the enforcement of the people's will must proceed from and be directed by the economic organization.

Some of my opponents come forward with the old bugaboo of the "Paris Commune." Daniel DeLeon, rising at the close of my lecture, New York, on March 11, assumed a melodramatic air, declaring that "Williams' language leads directly to Paris Commune disasters, and I for one shall decline all responsibility for such disasters." Leaving aside the conceit implied in such a statement, let me ask, What did DeLeon mean? That the Paris Commune of 1871 resulted in a "disaster" because those involved in it "rejected the civilized means" (Consulted on page 8)

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A PARTING WORD.

There comes a time in every man's career in the Industrial Union movement when, for the good of the movement itself, he must consider whether it may not be best served by his retirement from any position he may hold. For some months this consideration has been forced upon me. On account of failing health I sent in my resignation of the editorship of the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to the General Executive Board on March 1st, and with this issue of the paper my official connection ceases.

More firmly convinced than at any time of the essential need of the economic organization to the cause of Socialism, it is not without regrets that I take this step. It is taken, however, with the fullest measure of confidence that the organization will more and more commend itself to the misled but awakening proletariat and finally come to be universally recognized as the indispensable instrumentality to the unity of the working class on the industrial and political field and the final achievement of the Industrial Commonwealth.

I desire, as my last word, to acknowledge the uniform consideration treatment I have received from my comrades and fellow-workers, and to wish them, one and all, the happiest culmination to the struggle in which they are engaged.

A. S. EDWARDS.

THE "HIGHER" PATRIOTISM.

There is a "higher" patriotism in the United States of America, just as there is a "higher" education and a "higher" criticism in religion. The higher patriotism is based, not on a love of country, but the love of money. It is open to question whether there is anything new in such patriotism; at any rate it is the brand that thrives most flourishingly in the United States. The management of the congress of politicians, whom the people regard as their representatives, is in the hands of a small coterie of men who are lost to all sense of responsibility to the people. A man goes to Congress with the fires of patriotism burning in his breast and feels that he has been greatly honored by those who sent him. After his arrival he soon finds himself assigned to one of two classes—the assignment depending upon his abilities; either he is admitted to the managing coterie or is never heard of more except in the "Congressional Record." Many who gain admittance to the managing coterie eventually fire of the "honors," because the pay of \$7,500 a year (although probably seven times what they were formerly worth as individuals) is too small. They retire as Reed and Spooner did, as Littlefield has done, to join the "higher" degree of patriots. They become the plant tools of the great corporations to protect special interests and bunco the people who opened them the gate of political opportunity.

The other day Bryan said: "Political prominence is an asset in any kind of business." None know the truth of this quite so well as the patriots who graduate from Congress to the service of corporations, and whose duty it becomes by that service to defend criminals and defeat the people's will. The greater the prominence in politics, the larger the assets when one passes to the "higher" order of patriotism. The descendants of the Pilgrim fathers are mere money-grubbers and patriotism has fallen on evil days.

ONE "MINISTER" ON RIGHT LINE.

The "Wage Slave," printed at Hancock, Mich., and edited by A. M. Stirton, formerly a minister of the gospel, now an Industrial Union Socialist, says:

"We notice that the Chicago Daily Socialist is always quite jubilant whenever it is able to chronicle the fact of a minister preaching a semi-socialist sermon. It is 'another great step toward the Co-Operative Commonwealth,' another 'milestone in the Socialist progress' in the eyes of our fellow workers and contemporary.

"The Wage Slave is dubious. The thing that we are afraid of, and our fears grow out of our past experience in the church, is that when it is once evident that Socialism is sure to win the churches will, on some pretext, announce conversion to its principles and try to put themselves at the head of the movement and lead it. If they can do this, they will lead it off into the bog and quagmire of compromise and Utopianism and away from a clean-cut revolutionary program, as sure as fate. We dread the Greeks when they come bearing gifts."

Comrade Stirton indicates clearly what he means by "a clean-cut revolutionary program" when he answers the question editorially, "What Can a Man Do When He is Starving and Out of Work?" First the editor reviews the manifold answers that are usually given to this question, such as "cutting down living expenses," "praying to our heavenly father," "pinning one's faith to a pure and simple political Socialism," etc. Then he says:

"We prefer to deal with prevention rather than with cure, considering an ounce of the former worth a pound of the latter. And so we recommend to the working people that, before they are led into the repeated and lousy professions made by its officers, is coquetting with the organizations that are irrevocably committed to craft unionism and capitalist interests, the Industrial Workers of the World reaffirms its basis of unity, which first appeared in our answer to the impudent 'invitation' of the officers of the W. F. M., and which signally failed of its purpose:

"So there is at least one ex-minister 'in the movement' who has a good and valid reason for the 'faith' that is in him, and has studied the materialist conception of history to some practical purpose.

BASIS FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY.

Now that the Western Federation of Miners by adopting the confusing referendum fixed up and submitted by Chas. H. Moyer, has been misled into repudiating unity of the working class of this country on the industrial field, instead of standing true to the repeated and lousy professions made by its officers, is coquetting with the organizations that are irrevocably committed to craft unionism and capitalist interests, the Industrial Workers of the World reaffirms its basis of unity, which first appeared in our answer to the impudent 'invitation' of the officers of the W. F. M., and which signally failed of its purpose:

First: All present executive officers of any organization participating in the convention, must sign a pledge that they will resign from their positions and not accept the nomination for any executive office, nor stand for election as executive officer or organizer in the general organization to be formed or any of the bodies represented and installed; neither shall any of the incumbents in an executive office of either of the aforesaid bodies accept an office in the organization or a commission as salaried organizer for a term of at least five years;

Second: The organization to be formed must repudiate the sacred contract, check-off systems and excessive fining systems; no "industrial autonomy" subterfuge shall prevent the full exposure and disciplining of organizations, where such appalling systems are in operation;

Third: No man or woman shall be permitted to accept a position as either executive officer or organizer of the general organization, or a subordinate part thereof (this to include all national unions as well as departments), unless he or she is fully conversant with the facts and principles of the class struggle and endorses the program that the CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AND CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT MUST BE SUPPLANTED BY THE INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDUSTRIES BY THE ORGANIZED PROLETARIAT;

Fourth: Any executive officer who is interested by either actual partnership or as beneficiary in the proceeds of any institution in which workers are exploited shall forfeit all rights and privileges in the organization to be formed;

Fifth: No general executive officer of the organization, or parts thereof, or any salaried organizer shall be permitted to accept any office in any political organization, nor shall they be allowed to accept nomination for any political office, except permission is granted by a referendum vote of the membership of the entire organization;

Sixth: All craft union labels, without exception, must be repudiated as being instruments to keep the workers divided, and tending to establish craft union monopolies on the basis of a mutual understanding between manufacturers and craft union leaders;

Seventh: All transactions of the executive officers of the organization or subordinate parts thereof shall be carried on with full knowledge by the membership; rituals, passwords, secret signs, compulsory burial ceremonies, as in operation in the United Mine Workers, shall be repudiated and abolished.

"FAIRY TALES" OF AN EDITOR TRITURATED.

Thus saith the editor of the New Orleans Picayune in his editorial columns of April 12, 1908:

Tennyson, the poet, wrote something about the fairy tales of science. A fairy tale is the most creative of the imagination and the foundation in fact, and that is what induced the poet laureate to employ the expression he did in regard to some of the theories of the scientists."

Here is the passage from Tennyson referred to by the editor, and I submit that no such meaning can be twisted into it:

"Here about the beach I wandered, nourishing a youth sublime,
With the fair priest of science and the long long line of time;
When the centuries behind me like a fruitful land reposed;
And I clung to all the present for the promise that it closed:
When I dived into the future, as human eyes could see;
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be."

The quotation is from "Locksley Hall," a poem written by Tennyson before he was ruined by being elevated to be "poet laureate"; it is one of his few revolutionary poems, and it is a glorification of science; its whole structure shows that when it was written the poet was in rebellion against the whole present social structure because he had been unjustly separated from the woman he loved and who loved him; as witness this other quotation:

"Better thou and I were lying, hidden from the heart's disgrace,
Rolled in one another's arms, and silent in the last embrace;
Curbed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth!
Curbed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth!
Curbed be the gold that glides the straightened forehead of a fool!"

And further on the poet cries:

"What is that which I should turn to, lighting upon days like these?
Every door is barred with gold, and opens but to golden keys."

And again, as hope reverts:

"What my brother and I were, ever reaping something new;
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."

And, after reviewing all the wonder that was and seeing with prophetic eye "all the wonder that would be," he says:

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With its perfume of human life, came news of the thunderstorm;
The war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

And, in a mighty climax, after spurning the thought of returning to savagery to meet the turmoil of the battlefield of progress, he cries:

"Hither fifty years of Europe came, and here we met to-day."
So cried this poet, and so has cried every "Bright and Morning Star" of the human race, from Lucifer to Christ, and from Christ to us.

It is a shame that anyone should take the things which they have said and try to twist them against that which they upheld, for to science we owe all the wonder that is and will owe all the wonder that is to be. When Tennyson spoke of the "fairy tales of science" he meant, in common language, that the truth is always more strange, more beautiful, and more wonderful than fiction; and this statement is the whole basis of the "Locksley Hall." But should you desire to read a fairy tale of science do not read this poem, but read instead the "Picayune's" editorial under the caption: "No Absolute Liberty, and no Absolute Equality," wherein the great editor puts words into the mouths of earth's sages that they never uttered, and then goes on to prove them liars. Listen to what he says:

"In every age of the world there have been thinkers and theorists who have occupied themselves in declaring the wrong and unjustness of the present order of things, and in proposing reforms in their special and general condition, and in the restraints of law, religion and custom under which they exist."

All of which is true, but one truth that seems to have been forgotten by the editor is that one of the very greatest of these "thinkers and theorists" who so occupied himself was Jesus Christ, the Carpenter of Nazareth, whom the editor worships as his God to-day. And then the editor asks:

"Why are some wealthy and fully supplied with this world's goods while others are poor and without reliable means of subsistence? This earth on which mankind has been placed is a common heritage and property of the entire population. Why do some enjoy possession of great shares of its lands and their gifts, while others have nothing but the air they breathe and are suffering for every necessary of life?"

In the first place it is false that "this earth is a common heritage and property of the entire population," and it is for the reason that this is not true that "some are wealthy and fully supplied with this world's goods while others are poor and without reliable means of subsistence," for, only of those who own the earth can it be truly said that they have a "common heritage and property" in it; and, so holding it, they can and do deny its use to the balance of mankind, and by this denial "enjoy possession of great shares of its lands and their gifts," while, by the fact that they do not own, millions of "others have nothing but the air they breathe and are suffering for every necessary of life."

It is the common property of the earth that is the cause of the poverty of the millions of idle, starving, and suffering in this and other lands to-day, and it is worse than a fairy tale of science to assert, as does the editor, that the reason for the infamous inequality in the possession of wealth that exists today is due to the inequality of the personal attributes of individuals, for it follows as the night the day that if he and his class claim to own the earth, it is the duty of the individual to use it as he may see fit; if this were true, Christ never would have ascended the cross, Emmett's glorious life never would have ended upon the gallows, Marx never would have starved his mighty heart through so many long and dreary years to die in misery. Lee never would have given up the generalship of the Union armies and all that went with it to lead the Confederacy to predestined defeat; and it is not true by the very fact that the human race loves, honors and adores, and that those who are successful in personal success are any count, but those who gave their lives for the uplifting of the race. Ruling classes, and not humanity, are the worshippers of Constantines and Atlases; as it is ruling classes, and not humanity, that reasons, per the editor, thusly:

"Socialism will never succeed on its own merits, but it will lead the way to a terrible political and social revolution like that of 1789-1799 in France. It was the 'Reign of Terror' that brought forth Bonaparte. Order is not only heaven's first law, but no human society can exist without laws and government control. It was the necessary condition for public order and the protection of society that brought Napoleon out of the French social deluge. Despotism alone can deliver human society from chaos."

I will agree that if the "merits" of Socialism are as rotten as are those the editor imputes to it, that it "will never succeed on its merits," but, seeing that Socialism is the antithesis of all that the editor decries it to be, I am more than ever convinced that it will succeed and humanity be freed from despotism forever.

And, as for a "reign of terror," the working class organized into the Industrial Workers of the World will take care that neither the capitalist class nor the social virtues in its employ will be able to cause another such catastrophe. But, while we are on this subject, the editor should know that the "reign of terror" was not produced by the working class, but by a revolution of the capitalist class against the feudal nobility and the church; yet, however that may be, we have learned our lesson from it as we have learned a deeper and bitterer lesson from the fate of the Commune of Paris, that first feeble attempt of workmen to set up an Industrial Democracy.

We have learned our lesson, and we are building to-day on a foundation that will prevent any Bonaparte, Napoleon or otherwise, from again betraying the cause of humanity; so there is no need to worry over this phase of the question. As to "order" being "heaven's first law," that is true; but if it is true, it follows that we are living in hell to-day, for there can be no order in a system of society that is so organized that it compels men to tear each other's hearts out in order to exist; in a system of society, like the present, or capitalist system, that denies the unity of the universe and the oneness of the race, there can be no "order," and its "laws" are no laws, for they are neither human nor natural, but are the will of a minority forced upon the majority of the race with dungeons and bayonets. When "law" has to rest upon such a foundation, it is only a question of time when it will be abolished, and it is the divine right of men so to do, and a right declared, proclaimed and successfully defended by the heroes of Valley Forge. The editor closes with this assertion which all history denies and which is a denial of the principles on which this government is supposed to rest; he says, "Despotism alone can deliver human society from chaos." Had the editor spoken in plain American language, said what he really meant, he would have said: "Despotism alone can deliver the capitalist class from its impending doom; despotism alone can prevent the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth; despotism alone can stop the working class from freeing the human race."

But capitalist editors, like capitalist politicians, rarely speak the language they are thinking, so the editor said: "Despotism alone can deliver human society from chaos," when, as a matter of fact, history proves that despotism and chaos are interchangeable terms, for when a despot takes charge of society all law is suspended and there can be no order, and by the very fact that everything depends upon the despot's will and whim, which most certainly must destroy law and order, and for the reason that law and order are not an outcome of an individual's will, but are the products of social evolution. That "despotism" and "law and order" are not synonymous terms is proven by the action of President Roosevelt in taking away the mailing privileges of the Socialist Party on the law side; that these privileges could not be taken away, once granted, without a trial; and by his action in denouncing men about to face a jury for their lives as "undesirable citizens," when the law says that every man is entitled to an impartial and unprejudiced hearing of the charges made against him; for in these instances we have the soul of despotism, the substitution of an individual's will in the place of law recognized even by savages; all of which proves, if anything can be proven,

that despotism and chaos are one and the same thing and mean the destruction of law and order.

Only when the working class carries out its historic mission by seizing the machinery of production and the powers of the government and declares the Industrial Democracy will there be any such things as law and order, for then, and only then, will law be an expression of justice, out of which order will flow as a matter of course.

In an anti-social, in a class divided system of society, justice is a byword; law and oppression sell the same thing; order only means the power of a man or class to relieve another of the products of his or its toil; and it will take a bigger man, a more able despot, than Theodore Roosevelt to maintain the Plunderbund of Capital.

"The people" will yet be free: as they have burst the chains of other slaves so will they burst this last chain with which the capitalist seeks to keep them bound—the chain forged in the house of Gold and Mammon.

Closing, I quote again Tennyson's prophetic words, which are already coming true:

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With its perfume of human life, came news of the thunderstorm;
The war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled,
And the Marcellian is ringing 'round a rebel world again!"

New Orleans, La.

COVINGTON HALL.

Where Do We Stand?

The history of all social movements is a history of continual change in time-honored methods of tactics. A social movement cannot follow cut-and-dried plans, no matter what far-seeing genius may have made them. One does not adapt its tactics to the changed social conditions it ceases to make any progress.

The industrial life of the United States underwent a change within the last ten years or so, that questions the correctness of our position towards unionism. If not wholly incorrect, as some claim, it at least beggars a clearer statement as to our position.

The Socialist movement as a class movement must have its main support from the working class, especially from that part which is organized. Furthermore, the best material for the Socialist movement is that part of the working class which recognizes the class struggle, but which is not a fetish, but it is the compass of all class movements. It is the basic principle of the Socialist philosophy, an understanding of which by the rank and file insures the party's correct tactics. Whenever we sever from the class struggle we are sure to go wrong.

It would therefore seem plausible for us to support that economic organization that recognizes the class struggle, and drills its members to a correct understanding of it. It is just the reverse. Not only do we support an economic organization of the working class that constantly endeavors to blind its membership to the existence of the class struggle, but some of the newspapers carried on a campaign of silence or misrepresentation against a class-conscious economic organization, thus holding up to scorn and ridicule our boasted "neutrality" towards trade unionism.

Some of our writers in the movement claim that no Socialist can argue against industrial unionism; it is just as much the coming form of economic organization as trustification is the inevitable form of industrial development. They even go further and coolly and logically point out how industrial development has made the old form of trade unionism obsolete, unable to fight with any degree of success the battles of labor.

Others, students, observers and participants in the labor movement, after careful study and observation of these two wings of the working class movement, have come to the conclusion that the former—the labor union—must change its form of organization from craft unionism to industrial unionism, and the latter—the Socialist movement—must change its position and work co-operatively with the new industrial organization, if they are to make any progress in the bettering of the working class and the abolishment of the capitalist system.

Fortunately, I can read the language of a people thousands of miles away and I find that one of the most prominent men in the Socialist movement of that country (Roumania), Dr. Rackowsky, in a recent article which appeared in the Socialist monthly, *Tricolor Social*, says: "Our success lies in the consciousness and the power of the proletariat. This explains the entire importance we give to the syndicalist movement, which is not only a means of bettering the condition of the working class, but also the bedrock upon whose basis alone can be reared a healthy Socialist movement."

He knows whereof he speaks. The Socialist movement of his country has had the experiences that have brought home to them the soundness of this claim. Reaching a position where it had two representatives in parliament, daily and weekly newspapers and was attracting the attention of the government, it was then blown from the hands of the government, made it totter like a house of cards. There was no real working class organization to stand by it. The intellectuals and semi-proletarians left it after the first shock.

One may safely say that our promises to better the condition of the working class in proportion as we gain political power, will meet tragic end, unless there is some organization of the industrial proletariat to back our political demands.

It does not follow from such a position that the economic movement is of more importance than the political. There can be no comparison. One supplements the other. One without the other is incomplete and consequently ineffective.—Mr. Mendelson in *Socialist Review*.

Women in the I. W. W.

To the Editor of THE BULLETIN:

1. Is a married woman of the working class a chattel slave or a wage slave?

2. Has she the right to belong to a mixed local of the I. W. W.?

I ask these questions because objection has been raised by some member of the Denver local to the effect that a married woman, a housekeeper, has no right to belong to a workmen's organization.

I wish to be made clear as to the attitude of the general organization on this matter.

As far as I know, the purpose of a mixed local is to educate and organize branches of different industries when there are enough members to form a local. Does a woman, that keeps house

for her husband, interfere with the progress of the organization by being a member of a mixed local?

Some assert that we have no grievance against the capitalist class, therefore we have no place in the union. Our grievance is against our husbands, if we are dissatisfied with our condition.

Some believe the married woman of the working class is no parasite nor exploiter. She is a social producer. In order to sustain herself, she has to sell her labor power, either in the factory, directly to the capitalist, or at home, indirectly, by serving the wage slave, her husband, thus keeping him in working condition through cooking, washing and general housekeeping.

Her being a mother and a housekeeper are two different functions. One is her maternal, and the other is her industrial function in society. And as an industrial factor in society, I believe the wage slave's wife has got a right to belong to a mixed local. I think it should be encouraging for workmen to see women enter their ranks and, shoulder to shoulder, fight for economic freedom.

Civilization denied us the right of expressing our political opinion at the ballot box, the economic organization, the I. W. W., our only hope, exclude us, and deny us the right to record our discontent against the capitalist system?

Will the Editor please answer in THE BULLETIN?

Yours for the emancipation of the working class,

SOPHIE VASILIO.

San Francisco, Cal.

[Note.—No reason is apparent why a woman, married and wishing to aid in the propaganda work, should not be admitted to a mixed local; but no provision is made for such a person when the mixed local ends its activities and the members take their places in industrial unionism. It is a matter to which the next convention will give attention.—Ed. I. U. B.]

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(Concluded from page 1)

that action so as to save time and prevent this from being sent back and forward."

A hot discussion ensued, and Delegate Foote made a long speech in support of resolution, in the midst of which he interjected many remarks of his own views were in accordance with Foote's. DeLeon's only reply was:

"Del. DeLeon: Not with your present explanation.

The resolution passed by DeLeon I have seen up to date.

As to Williams' subsequent attitude outside of the committee, that is best explained by the stenographic report, which reads:

Del. Williams: Although I voted in committee in favor of the adoption of this resolution, I want to say that on further study I am opposed to it. I am opposed to it because it opens up the question of the right to strike by other means, and I don't believe that this body has any right to make a definite interpretation of the meaning of that preamble. I do not believe that this body can make such a case give an interpretation that will be satisfactory and that will avoid in future the discussions that we have had in the past regarding the meaning of the second clause in the preamble. I shall therefore vote against the resolution."

The Foote resolution was defeated by the following vote: For, 24; against, 128. Both DeLeon and Williams voted against the resolution, Williams for the reason above given; DeLeon without giving any reason. Furthermore, at the next meeting DeLeon has given no reason publicly for so voting.

A recent letter from fellow worker Foote assures me that my New York letter "shows that I have grasped the full import of his resolution." But the point is that, contrary to the contention of DeLeon, Arnold and others, the I. W. W. has not up to date placed itself on record "officially" as to its position towards the political clause in the Preamble. It is still a debatable question as to the "specific political action" the working class organized in the I. W. W. will resort to in its march towards socialism. The question whether we accept Marx's definition of the "class struggle as a political struggle," it is not a debatable question that the working class will unite politically as well as industrially. The Preamble remains intact, and Williams, among other alleged "anti-political sectionists," is in accord with the Preamble. The development of events will in time determine whose interpretation of the Preamble wins. My remark that in the above quotation from the "Daily People" DeLeon is either deliberately "falsifying history," or is displaying his superficiality in matters of vital theoretical importance.

Now rushes into the arena Mrs. Olive M. Johnson, of Fruitvale, Cal., who, in the "Daily People" of April 7, uses three and a quarter columns of space to point out "The Pitfalls of Velocity Dynamism, or Pomposus Nonsense" (heading of her article). She accuses Mr. Johnson of digging a "pitfall" in my statement:

"The I. W. W. makes clear to the workers that an immediate improvement of their condition is possible only through Industrial Unionism. Thus the I. W. W. says the workers must leave behind the pitfall of reactionary reform movements and from the allurements of capitalist political issues."

Mrs. Johnson says regarding the above statement that "from the very first day of the I. W. W. becoming active the notion implied in the above quotation has constituted its most serious mistake." The logic of her argument that follows cannot better be summed up than by an anonymous contributor to the I. W. W. platform by one holding Mrs. Johnson's views:

"Working men and working women of —: I am speaking here tonight as a representative of the I. W. W. Join the economic organization of the working class! But you are afraid of the I. W. W. You say absolutely no hope of improving your conditions until you have established the co-operative commonwealth. You cannot raise wages! You say A. F. of L. members claimed they could reduce hours of labor, nor can you gain any other immediate benefits, directly or indirectly, through Industrial Unionism. You will always be defeated in your skirmishes (strikes) with capitalists. The labor movement does not proceed from victory to victory, but from defeat to defeat to final victory." Therefore, fellow workers, join the I. W. W. and get licked over, again, over, and over. This is in favor of the I. W. W.'s having anything to do with skirmishes (strikes) between workers and capitalists, because "that must necessarily waste its energy, its strength." Besides, "it is an old story, and you encounter it sooner or later. It must sooner or later become physical. Under such circumstances how in the name of common sense are you going to prevent disaster?" (Mrs. J.) No wonder that some Marxists find the foregoing propositions generally. Of course, I used to be a Marxist myself, although Marx says he wasn't, and I guess he was right up to date. Now, however, I have turned away from the teachings of the "petty bourgeois anarchist," Proudhon, of Citizen Weston and others whose views (similar to mine) have been for many years and trying to combat. To prove that strikes are only "pitfalls," I need but cite two classic examples in which that fellow Williams was instrumental in leading groups of workers to their defeat. One was the lumber strike in Portland, Oregon, and Eureka, Cal. Of course, I shall have to admit that Williams was not in Portland when the strike started, nor did he take a hand in the agitation leading up to it. But a Bessemer, Ore. reporter for the Oregon Journal said this about the strike: "A single strike of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its glowing enthusiasm, its driving hundreds of thousands of more revolutionists than the whole season of agitation by the socialist party. I shall also have to admit that Williams did not call the I. W. strike. That strike was led by F. L. Strike, but called and directed by pure-and-simple leaders, who blocked every effort of Williams and others to secure unity of action of the two organizations and as a consequence led their men to

Union, or a Department Organization, shall receive their due stamps through the Industrial District Council, wherever such a central body is in existence.

The adverse features can be eliminated if propositions which I submit in another communication will be carried out and rigidly enforced.

Fourth (Marked 4) Communication from the General Secretary Treasurer of the United Brotherhood of Tailors and my answer.

Few points of explanation are needed. The United Brotherhood of Tailors is composed of clothing workers who were divided into "Call" in four languages, and organized as an independent body about a year ago. The preamble of the I. W. W. was submitted to the membership for a referendum and was rejected. They have since received in the last few weeks from clothing workers in different places who wanted to ascertain the relations between the United Brotherhood of Tailors and the Industrial Workers of the World.

IWW 13p A21 BATTAN THREE

I have sent out call to textile workers for the convention on May 1st, and will continue. This week's Bulletin will contain "Call" in four languages. When that convention is held a committee of said United Brotherhood of Tailors should be permitted to watch the proceedings and possibly make arrangements suggested by my letter.

Do you approve my answer?

In connection with the convention of textile workers, I wish to suggest that Francis Miller of Olneyville be invited to attend as translator for the main language. I think you would be able to perform this task.

Yours for industrial freedom,
WM. E. TRAUTMANN,
Gen'l Sec'y Treas.

COMMUNICATION NO. 2.

Fifth (Documents marked 5a and 5b). An appeal from National Organizer Jos. E. Ettor, against action taken by L. U. No. 173, San Francisco, Cal.

Aware of the opinion apparently prevailing everywhere that any kind of appeal should be offered to get release from obligations to general headquarters, I have notified several unions that no more supplies would be furnished on credit, and the collection of the same, due, could not be offered to get release upon all unions not exempt from payment of assessment by a vote of the General Executive Board.

In the statements sent out to local unions and Industrial District Councils, in which payment of \$4717.58 is demanded, of which sum about one-half is due in payment of supplies and literature furnished, the amounts due for assessment levied were given, and, once the levied sum would have been made obligatory, as was done in the New England States, general headquarters could claim from members who were working when the assessments were due, the levied sum of \$4,500.00 in addition to the \$4717.58.

The appeal of Ettor is a test case; such a condition as exists in San Francisco had to be established first so as to have a concrete case to present.

The General Executive Board members are hereby called upon to approve of a ruling, to-wit:

"Assessments levied by the General Executive Board must be paid by every local union. However, the Industrial Workers of the World for every member in employment, except in cases where by a majority vote of the General Executive Board a union is exempted from paying assessments. Exemptions can be granted only when the matter is submitted, through the General Secretaries to the G. E. B., with documents and valid reasons why such appealing unions should be exempt from payment."

"Unions failing to pay assessments shall be considered in bad standing, but may take an appeal to the convention; in such cases, the convention shall be held under protest, and so inform general headquarters."

Document (marked 5b), of Jos. Ettor deals with a similar matter. Local Union No. 363 of Los Angeles, once a flourishing local, disbanded some time ago and voted to turn over all money to L. U. No. 173. The general secretaries demanded that the amount of \$53.95 be forwarded to headquarters, as a proper part of the property of the general organization; and can not be transferred by a defunct local to another, except in cases where two locals amalgamate and merge into one.

On this particular point, submitted by Ettor, there must be a ruling, because recent developments in San Francisco to be dealt with in another communication, suggest the adoption of a ruling, to-wit: "The General Executive Board, in the interest of the organization, and enable the general office to enforce certain necessary rules with more firmness and dispatch."

Sixth (marked 6). The request from the local in Sacramento is based on the fact that the "Question Sociale," a socio-anarchist publication of Paterson, N. J., was virtually suppressed by order of the President of the United States, and for propagating certain ideas and advocating certain methods of action. The denial of the mail privilege is equivalent to a suppression of the publication.

It may not be in accord with the ideas espoused by the backers of the "Question Sociale," but if the government officials are allowed to be the sole judges of what constitutes a law-defying publication, then no paper or magazine, or any other kind of propaganda of the working class is safe against equal persecutions. As a matter of fact, when the application for "second-class entry" was made for the Industrial Union Bulletin in 1912, it was paid for by the Washington office by a lawyer acting for Sherman & Co. on the ground that the publication contained articles of incendiary and revolutionary nature, and that it advocated the destruction of the United States government and institutions of the republic. (This is a verbal statement given by a government inspector; efforts to get a written statement of the basis for the protest were unavailing.)

It is suggested that the government be ground to hold up for over three months the application for second-class entry, may be taken, if the government officials are allowed to pursue their course, as

or, whether "it's only a nickel or two-bits apiece."
 The speech was surely interesting to the audience, and especially to the fellow who could not stand "prosperity." Every point made by the speaker was applauded, but to this working-man orator it was evidently obnoxious. After another round of hand-clapping and an attempt to dislodge the speaker, and after the fruitless attempt to sell literature by his partners, the speaker cried out: "Workmen! While this may tickle the vanity of the Bryans, the 'big sticks,' the Fiddle Mayors, etc., we mean to get a rap for all this attention unless right alongside of applauding and remarks of approval you show a desire to further read up on the subject. It is for you to realize that you are being exploited, to be exploited for dollars and cents by a master class until you make up your mind to put a stop to it. Not only do we want you to read, but after having investigated, to joining ranks for the purpose of organizing the economic force necessary to do the job."
 Needless to say the literature went like the proverbial fair-lacks, resulting in a few dollars and some members, our young friend included. However, the majority read, investigated, and found the arguments to be correct, but continued to be sympathizers only, and wage slaves mainly.
 Fellow workers, all the usual signs of approval and sympathy on every occasion expressed amounts to nothing but "hot air," unless you join the I. W. W. When a fellow worker, after having listened to your sympathy gas, asks you to fall in line and keep step with developments in the world of labor, that is the time for you to respond. (Of course, there are some who are for obvious reasons unable to do so.)
 Fellow Workers! If you happen to attend a meeting of the I. W. W. and a workman asks you to buy a book, or for your sympathy to sign the "United Labor Bulletin," don't get it because it's "only a nickel" or 50c a year, but because you are getting tired of remaining a wage worker and all that goes with his lot; because you want to be put wise as to how to be organized and fight for industrial freedom in the mill, mine, factory and field.
 Visit the headquarters of the I. W. W. at San Francisco, No. 158 5th St. W. W. When a fellow worker tells you the "Pettibone dope" you are able to digest, and call again. You are always welcome!
 And to those who have done so, but are not otherwise reaching out, I would like to say, quit "choking the sack" over political action all the time and about the tiger-fat man, etc., for a while. Let a truce be declared for one year. In the meantime let's get busy and do some more of the work that was done ere the earthquake, and there will be something doing at the Golden Gate. Fall in line, wise, otherwise and "Oberbochims" and build up the I. W. W. The better for ourselves and your class.
 "From One Who Was There."
Ebert Answers.
 Mixed Local 320, I. W. W., Worcester, Mass., seems intent on adding humor to an otherwise tragic situation. In a series of resolutions which it intended to be published in the Bulletin of April 11, it demands open, fair-minded, enlightening and progressive discussion; and then condemns me for writing "satirical and malicious, crafty narrow and misleading—nay—invidious and disruptive, discussion. Such inconsistency may impress the naive Worcesterians, but the rest of mankind are not likely to take it seriously.
 Nor are they likely to do ought but smile at the outcry against "anonymity," when even the Worcesterians found no difficulty in recognizing the person satirized; and the best writers in all literatures employ what they so seriously condemn.
 As for the sincerity of the person satirized, who doubts it, when one considers the pervasive intolerance of the "I. W. W. Bulletin," editorials. In which he indulged; especially when the consideration extends to the baneful influence upon our movement which such perversion exerts? Surely, willful perversion, resulting in the disruption, is proof positive that the willful perverter is sincere in his declarations of solicitude for the welfare of the movement? Surely, no idea of impartiality or the best interests of the Socialist Superman can be thought of in connection with the acts of such a person? As a tree is judged by its fruit, and a man by his acts, is there any doubt of the sincerity of "Prof. Morgan Marx," then?
 And finally the Worcesterians say I am actuated by "petty spite." Let us admit that, for argument's sake; what of it? Does that invalidate the soundness of my argument? Will the fact that I am actuated by "petty spite" make true the argument of Prof. Morgan Marx's that attributes veiled assassinations to men who are not veiled assassins; and makes "our" success as I. W. W. workers all sorts of detestable creatures, simply because they differ with his professorship? I am afraid it won't; and since I entertain that fear, I can afford to smile at the resolutions of my Worcesterian workers.
 JUSTUS EBERT.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
Women of Greater New York.
 All women of Greater New York who are interested in the I. W. W. are invited to aid the organization in every possible way are urgently requested to attend a meeting of women called under the auspices of the Joint Headquarters Committee of the New York District Committee of the I. W. W. Tuesday, April 28, at 8 p. m., 60 Cooper Square. This meeting is for the purpose of forming an organization of women to work in conjunction with the men to bring about the success of the I. W. W. by order of the Joint Headquarters Com.

